

Message Text

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S/S - MR. ORTIZ

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 022277

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MARR, MASS, TU

SUBJECT: TURKISH AMBASSADOR'S DISCUSSION WITH UNDER
SECRETARY OF US-TURKISH BASE NEGOTIATIONS AND
CYPRUS TALKS

1. FOLLOWING A DISCUSSION BETWEEN AMBASSADOR ESENBEL AND
UNDER SECRETARY SISCO JANUARY ,7 RELATING TO DELIVERIES
OF FMS ITEMS REQUIRED BY THE TURKISH AIR FORCE, ESENBEL
SAID HE WISHED TO DESCRIBE TO THE UNDER SECRETARY TELE-
PHONE CALLS HE HAD RECEIVED FROM PRIME MINISTER DEMIREL
AND FOREIGN MINISTER CAGLAYANGIL THE PREVIOUS DAY. SINCE
BOTH TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS BORE THE SAME MESSAGE FROM
ANKARA, ESENBEL'S RECOUNTING FOCUSED CHIEFLY ON HIS "HALF
HOUR'S TALK" WITH DEMIREL.

2. ACCORDING TO ESENBEL, THE PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT HE
WISHED PRESIDENT- "AND SECRETARY TO KNOW THAT THERE ARE
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LIMITS TO -WHATHE CAN DO TO CHECK ANTI-AMERICANISM ON THE

LEFT AND AMONG HIS COALITION PARTNERS IN TURKEY. DEMIREL SAID HE HAS DONE ALL HE CAN AND HAS IN FACT REACHED HIS LIMIT. HE SAID THAT BEFORE MOVING AHEAD TO CONCLUDE A NEW BILATERAL DEFENSE AGREEMENT WITH THE US, US-TURKISH RELATIONS MUST BE RESTORED TO THEIR FORMER STATE -- I.E., A RELATIONSHIP WITHOUT THE "PRESSURE" REPRESENTED BY THE

CONTINUING CONGRESSIONAL RESTRICTIONS ON ARMS TRANSACTIONS WITH TURKEY. IT IS ONLY WHEN NORMAL RELATIONS ARE RESTORED, SAID DEMIREL, THAT HE CAN TELL ANTI-AMERICAN ELEMENTS IN TURKEY THAT THE AMERICANS HAVE REMOVED THEIR PRESSURE WITHOUT HIS HAVING GIVEN IN TO IT, AND THAT THE BASES AGREEMENT HE HAS CONCLUDED WAS MADE WHOLLY IN TURKEY'S NATIONAL INTEREST.

3. IN REPLY TO ESENBEL'S QUESTION TO THE PRIME MINISTER REGARDING PROSPECTS FOR PROGRESS ON CYPRUS, DEMIREL HAD REPLIED THAT THE SAME POINT ABOUT THE NECESSITY OF FIRST REMOVING US PRESSURE AND RESTORING NORMAL US-TURKISH BILATERAL RELATIONS OBTAINED. DEMIREL APPARENTLY SAID THAT WHILE HE WOULD BE WILLING TO SEE THE INTERCOMMUNAL CYPRUS TALKS GO FORWARD, TURKEY WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO MAKE ANY MAJOR CONCESSIONS SO LONG AS THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT PERCEIVED CONTINUING CONGRESSIONAL PRESSURE ON TURKEY. ESENBEL COMMENTED THAT THIS WAS IN EFFECT WHAT CAGLAYANGIL HAD TOLD THE SECRETARY IN BRUSSELS ON JANUARY 23.

4. MR. SISCO NOTED THE SECRETARY'S RESPONSE TO CAGLAYANGIL IN BRUSSELS -- I.E., THAT THE SECRETARY AND THE ADMINISTRATION HAVE ALWAYS BEEN AGAINST RESTRICTIONS ON ASSISTANCE TO TURKEY BUT THAT, QUITE FRANKLY, THE ADMINISTRATION WILL HAVE A VERY DIFFICULT TIME PERSUADING CONGRESS TO RESUME THE FORMER ASSISTANCE RELATIONSHIP UNTIL THERE IS MOVEMENT ON CYPRUS. ESENBEL INTERVENED TO EXPLAIN THE ALLEGED BRUSSELS AGREEMENT BETWEEN BITSIOS AND CAGLAYANGIL ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SUBCOMMITTEES AS PART OF THE CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS, AND THE ROLES TURKEY AND GREECE WERE TO PLAY. HE COMPLAINED THAT THE GREEKS HAVE BACKED AWAY FROM THAT AGREEMENT.

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5. MR. SISCO SAID THAT HE WISHED TO TALK BROADLY ABOUT BASIC STRATEGIC CONSIDERATIONS INHERENT IN THE US-TURKISH RELATIONSHIP, AND ABOUT GETTING THAT IMPORTANT RELATIONSHIP BACK TO NORMAL. HE SAID NO ONE WOULD DENY THAT DEMIREL HAS DOMESTIC POLITICAL PROBLEMS. WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT POLITICS IS THE ART OF THE POSSIBLE FOR THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT, THE TURKS MUST ALSO UNDERSTAND THAT THERE ARE DOMESTIC POLITICAL PROBLEMS IN THE US. SISCO

SAID THAT ON THE WHOLE OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS SEEM TO UNDER-
STAND EACH OTHER'S BASIC AIMS AND PURPOSES. HOWEVER,
IT IS IMPORTANT TO LEAVE ASIDE FOR THE MOMENT THE DETAILS
OF WHETHER THERE SHOULD BE SUBCOMMITTEES FOR THE INTER-
COMMUNAL CYPRUS TALKS AT THIS STAGE AND OF WHO SEEMS TO
BE RENEGING ON WHAT AGREEMENT IN CONNECTION WITH THE
TALKS, AND ADDRESS THE CENTRAL QUESTION OF HOW WE ARE

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GOING TO SAFEGUARD AND STRENGTHEN US-TURKISH RELATIONS.
TO DO THIS, SAID SISCO, REQUIRES PROGRESS ON CYPRUS. THE
UNDER SECRETARY CONTINUED THAT THE MAIN ISSUES IN THE
CYPRUS TALKS ARE WELL KNOWN. THE REALITY IS THAT SOME-
THING MUST MOVE, AND MUST MOVE QUICKLY. OTHERWISE, THE
UNDER SECRETARY PERSONALLY FEARED THAT THINGS COULD
DETERIORATE BETWEEN THE US AND TURKEY OVER THE NEXT
PERIOD IN WAYS NEITHER OF US WANTS. HE SAID HE COULD
ONLY SEE TROUBLE AHEAD FOR THE BILATERAL RELATION-
SHIP, CONTRARY TO MUTUAL INTEREST, IF CYPRUS PROGRESS IS
NOT FORTHCOMING. THE UNDER SECRETARY EXPRESSED THE
STRONG HOPE THAT SOMEONE IN ANKARA HAS A STRATEGIC PLAN
WHICH TIES ALL OF THESE INTERLOCKING QUESTIONS TOGETHER
AND SUGGESTS HOW TURKEY SHOULD MOVE TO PROTECT ITS BROAD
INTERESTS.

6. ESENBEL REMARKED THAT IN THESE DISCUSSIONS WE ALWAYS
SEEM TO REACH THE SAME POINT: THE USG ASKING FOR MOVEMENT
ON CYPRUS, AND DEMIREL SAYING HE CANNOT MOVE UNDER PRES-
SURE FROM THE US AND CANNOT PERMIT US-TURKISH RELATIONS TO
BE LINKED TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. ESENBEL ALSO SAID THAT
IT CANNOT BE IN THE US INTEREST TO JEOPARDIZE US-TURKISH
RELATIONS THROUGH CONGRESSIONAL PRESSURE ON TURKEY.

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7. SISCO SAID THAT IN HIS VIEW IT WAS A SAD BUT PRACTI-
CAL FACT THAT IN THE MINDS OF MANY, IF NOT MOST, IN CON-
GRESS US-TURKISH RELATIONS AND CYPRUS ARE RELATED; IN
THE MUTUAL INTEREST TURKEY AND THE US MUST FIND A WAY
TO WORK THEMSELVES OUT OF THIS BIND. HE SAID THAT
ESENBEL'S COMMENT ABOUT IT NOT BEING IN THE US INTEREST
TO JEOPARDIZE US-TURKISH RELATIONS CAN BE TURNED AROUND.
IT CANNOT BE IN TURKEY'S INTEREST EITHER TO ADOPT POLICY
POSITIONS OR ATTITUDES TENDING TO JEOPARDIZE A RELATION-
SHIP OF MUTUAL BENEFIT WHICH IS AT LEAST AS MUCH IN
TURKEY'S INTEREST AS IN THAT OF THE US. SISCO ALSO
COMMENTED THAT DESPITE THE GOT'S DOMESTIC POLITICAL
PROBLEMS HE COULD NOT BELIEVE THAT ANY TURKISH GOVERN-
MENT MAKING A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT FAVORABLE TO TURKEY
ALONG THE LINES NOW IN PROSPECT WOULD BE UNABLE TO

EXPLAIN THAT SETTLEMENT TO THE TURKISH PEOPLE IN SUCH
A WAY AS TO REAP GREAT DOMESTIC POLITICAL GAIN. HE
REPLIED TO ESENBEL'S CHARGE THAT MAKARIOS AND THE GREEKS
ARE ONCE AGAIN MAKING IT DIFFICULT FOR DENKTASH AND THE
GOT TO NEGOTIATE BY SAYING THAT EVEN IF THAT WERE TRUE,
THE BEST TURKISH TACTIC WOULD BE TO INSIST ON GOING TO
THE NEGOTIATING TABLE AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE TIME AND
ADOPTING A NOTABLY CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE AT THE TABLE.
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